

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2052

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 3835

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJ: OVERVIEW OF SPANISH POLITICAL FORCES

FOR THE SECRETARY

1. WHEN YOU WERE HERE LAST WEEK, YOU ASKED ME FOR A RUNDOWN OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL FORCES IN SPAIN AND WHERE THEY SEEM TO BE HEADING. WHILE THE THEME IS A COMPLEX ONE, HERE AS BRIEFLY AS POSSIBLE IS OUR OVERVIEW OF THE MAIN POLITICAL FORCES.

2. THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT:  
FIRST, SPAIN STILL HAS NO BROAD-BASED, PARTICIPATORY LEGAL POLITICAL GROUPS. THE SOLE LEGAL GROUP IS THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT, A GOVERNMENT INSTITUTION ORGANIZED IN 1937 UNDER FRANCO'S LEADERSHIP TO BRING TOGETHER THE DIVERSE POLITICAL FORCES THAT SUPPORTED FRANCO AND THE NATIONALIST CAUSE DURING THE CIVIL WAR. NATIONAL MOVEMENT, HOWEVER, DIFFERS CONSIDERABLY FROM NORM OF SINGLE PARTIES IN OTHER AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES. IT DOES NOT SEEK TO MOBILIZE RANK AND FILE, ITS CREDENTIALS ARE NO LONGER REQUIRED FOR ADVANCEMENT IN SYSTEM, AND IT IS INCREASINGLY BUREAUCRATIZED AND REGARDED AS LARGELY IRRELEVANT POLITICALLY BY SPANIARDS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SYSTEM.

3. POLITICAL GROUPS WHICH BACKED FRANCO IN 1936, WHICH NATIONAL MOVEMENT CLAIMS TO UNIFY, WERE REPRESENTATIVE  
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OF TRADITIONAL MIDDLE CLASS OF CITIES AND TOWNS, PRIVILEGED

RURAL CLASS AND SOME PEASANTS, INDUSTRY AND BANKING, PROFESSIONAL CLASS, BUREAUCRATIC ELITES, CHURCH AND ARMED FORCES. THESE FORCES COMPRISED ARRAY OF MONARCHIST, TRADITIONALIST, CONSERVATIVE, CATHOLIC, FALANGISTS, AND SINDICALIST PARTIES AND GROUPS. IN FACT, NATIONAL MOVEMENT'S RHETORIC AND IDEOLOGY WERE LARGELY PREEMPTED BY THE RIGHT, PRINCIPALLY THE FALANGE, WITH MORE MODERATE GROUPS DROPPING INTO POLITICAL LIMBO OR DISAPPEARING ALTOGETHER WITH POST-CIVIL WAR BAN ON PARTIES. CHURCH WITHDREW FROM CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH REGIME IN SIXTIES FOLLOWING VATICAN II AND IS NOW QUITE HOSTILE TO REGIME. BULK OF CATHOLIC POLITICAL FORCES HAVE EVOLVED INTO EUROPEAN-TYPE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUPS, MOST OF WHICH NOW OPERATE AS ILLEGAL OPPOSITION PARTIES.

4. THE RIGHT:

POLITICAL RIGHT IN SPAIN STILL HAS CLOUT DISPROPORTIONAL TO ITS MODEST NUMBERS BECAUSE OF CLOSE PERSONAL TIES OF ITS KEY FIGURES TO FRANCO, ITS CONTROL OF RESOURCES OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT, AND SIMILAR RELATED INSTITUTIONS, ITS FREEDOM TO ORGANIZE AND OPERATE OPENLY WITH GOVERNMENT TOLERANCE AND ITS CLOSE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL AFFINITY WITH SENIOR FIGURES OF ARMED FORCES AND POLICE, THOUGH WITH RESPECT TO MILITARY THIS AFFINITY IS DECLINING. RIGHT-WING HAS NO MASS POPULAR SUPPORT OF ITS OWN AND WILL LOSE IMPORTANT SOURCE OF ITS STRENGTH WITH DEPARTURE OF FRANCO, THOUGH IT WILL CONTINUE TO WIELD SOME INFLUENCE THROUGH ITS LINKS TO POLICE, VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS, AND INTERNAL SECURITY AGENCIES.

5. THE CENTER:

TRADITIONAL MIDDLE CLASS AND OTHER PRIVILEGED GROUPS THAT HAVE SUPPORTED FRANCO, AND WHICH WOULD FALL LARGELY INTO CENTER AND CENTER-RIGHT OF SPANISH POLITICAL SPECTRUM, HAVE BEEN SWELLED IN RECENT YEARS BY RISE OF NEW MIDDLE CLASS. THIS GROUP, CONSISTING OF NEW MANAGERIAL TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL ELITES IN EXPANDING INDUSTRIAL AND SERVICE SECTORS AND EVEN IN GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY AND ARMED FORCES, HAS ACQUIESCED PASSIVELY IN FRANCO'S CONTINUED RULE, BUT FAVORS CHANGE AND IS MOST ATTRACTED BY WESTERN

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EUROPE'S PREVAILING POLITICAL LIFE-STYLE, PARTICULARLY THAT OF FRG. NEW MIDDLE CLASSES ARE LARGELY APOLITICAL AND UNORGANIZED, THOUGH IN THEIR PREFERENCES THEY LEAN VAGUELY TOWARD MODERATE, PRAGMATIC SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC AND LIBERAL CURRENTS PREVALENT ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE. THEY HAVE NO STRONG IDENTIFICATION WITH FRANCO IDEOLOGY OR INSTITUTIONS, AND MINORITY OPENLY SYMPATHIZES WITH ILLEGAL SOCIALIST AND CHRISTIAN DEMO-

CRATIC GROUPS.

6. IT IS PRIMARILY THIS LARGE, APOLITICAL FLOATING MASS AT CENTER WHICH ARIAS GOVERNMENT HOPES TO SEE ORGANIZED AS FORCE FOR STABILITY IN TRANSITION. TO ENCOURAGE PARTICIPATION, ARIAS ADMINISTRATINN HAS LEGALIZED POLITICAL "ASSOCIATIONS", OR QUASI-PARTIES, UNDER UMBRELLA OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT WHICH MUST APPROVE ESTABLISHMENT OF EACH ASSOCIATION. ARIAS ULTIMATELY HOPES TO SEE EMERGENCE OF TWO OR THREE SUCH ASSOCIATIONS COVERING SPECTRUM FROM MODERATE RIGHT TO MODERATE LEFT, BUT COMMITTED TO GRADUAL EVOLUTION OF FRANCO SYSTEM RATHER THAN COMPLETE DISMANTLEMENT ADVOCATED BY ILLEGAL OPPOSITION. ARIAS HAS STRESSED THAT THERE IS EVEN PLACE FOR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC AND MODERATE "SOCIALISING" FORCES (MEANING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS, WITHIN ASSOCIATIONS SCHEME.

7. IN RELATIVELY BRIEF PERIOD SINCE ASSOCIATIONS WERE LEGALIZED AT BEGINNING OF YEAR, ASSOCIATIONS HAVE MET WITH PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE. HOWEVER, NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS ARE TAKING SHPAE, MOST VIABLE CURRENTLY BEING:

A. SPANISH DEMOCRATIC UNION (UDE): MODERATE CATHOLIC-ORIENTED (THAT IS, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEANINGS) GROUPING UNDER FORMER CABINET MINISTER SILVA MUNOZ, WHICH SEEKS REFORM-MINDED CENTER AS CONSTITUENCY;

B. SPANISH SOCIAL REFORM (RSE): CENTER-LEFT GROUP UNDER FORMER FALANGE YOUTH LEADER MANUEL CANTARRERO, WHICH SEEKS TO DEVELOP AND TRADE-ON QUASI-SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC IDENTIFICATION: AND

C. UNION OF SPANISH PEOPLE: RIGHTIST GROUP UNDER FORMER CABINET MENISTER JOSE SOLIS, WHO WOULD PRESERVE BUT WOULD "PERFECT" ESSENCE OF FRANCO STRUCTURES.

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8. IF THEY ARE TO GAIN SUBSTANTIAL FOLLOWING, ASSOCIATIONS-- WITH GOVERNMENT'S HELP- MUST OVERCOME WIDESPREAD PUBLIC DOUBTS THAT GOVT WILL ALLOW THEM MEANINGFUL ROLE AND WILL MAINTAIN NEUTRALITY TOWARD THEIR ACTIVITIES.

9. THE NON-COMMUNIST LEFT:

THE NON-COMMUNIST LEFT COMPRISES ARRAY OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST PARTIES WHICH, WHILE OFFICIALLY ILLEGAL, OPERATE RATHER OPENLY WITH VARYING DEGREES OF GOVERNMENT TOLERANCE AND MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS. WITH ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION AND MASS MEETINGS RULED OUT, DIFFICULT TO ESTIMATE THEIR POPULAR SUPPORT, THOUGH, AS NOTED BEFORE, SOCIALIST AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC OPTIONS AS AN IDEAL HAVE CONSIDERABLE PULL AMONG YOUNGER SPANIARDS, INTELLECTUALS AND WORKERS.

A. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS-OPPOSITION CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ARE DIVIDED INTO FIVE SEPARATE GROUPS. ALL GROUPS ARE MEMBERS OF EUROPEAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION AND COOPERATE WITHIN SPAIN IN AN INFORMAL COORDINATING COMMISSION. THREE ARE REGIONAL IN NATURE, THE BASQUE NATIONALIST PARTY, CATALAN DEMOCRATIC UNION, AND ANOTHER GROUP IN VALENCIA. THE TWO MOST SIGNIFICANT NATIONAL -LEVEL GROUPS ARE:

(1) CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEFT (IDC) HEADED BY JOAQUIN RUIZ GIMENEZ, WHO ENTERED OPPOSITION AFTER SERVING AS CABINET MINISTER AND AMBASSADOR UNDER FRANCO IS THE STRONGEST; ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO QUANTIFY ITS STRENGTH,

(2) CHRISTIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY (DSC) -A CENTRIST  
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CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUPING HEADED BY AGING JOSE MARIA GIL ROBLES, PRINCIPAL CATHOLIC POLITICAN DURING SECOND SPANISH REPUBLIC.

B. SOCIALISTS: SOCIALISTS ARE DIVIDED INTO AT LEAST THREE RIVAL PARTIES AND SEVERAL LESSER GROUPINGS:

(1) SPANISH SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (PSOE)- SINCE 1972 PSOE, WHICH FOUNDED IN 1888 AND WHICH REMAINS SPAIN'S MAJOR SOCIALIST FORCE, HAS BEEN CONTROLLED BY YOUNGER LEADERS OPERATING WITHIN SPAIN WHO SEIZED LEADERSHIP FROM CIVIL WAR ERA EXILES. PSOE IS ONLY SOCIALIST PARTY RECOGNIZED BY SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, AND ALSO HAS AN AFFILIATED CLANDESTINE TRADE UNION, THE UGT. PSOE UNDER ITS LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN RECENTLY GAINING GROUND IN SPAIN AND ABROAD: 33-YEAR OLD PSOE LEADER FELIPE GONZALEZ HAS RECENTLY RECEIVED INDICATIONS OF SUPPORT FROM GERMANY'S WILLY BRANDT, FRANCE'S MITTERAND, AND SWEDEN'S OLAF PALME. IF PARTIES WERE LEGALIZED PSOE

WOULD PROBABLY EMERGE AS PRINCIPAL SOVIALIST PARTY, WITH SUBSTANTIAL CONSTITUENCY. IDEOLOGICALLY, IT HAS NEO-MARXIST OUTLOOK, BUT REJECTS COLLABORATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS AND WOULD ON SCALE BE SOMEWHERE BETWEEN GERMAN, SPD AND ITALIAN PSI.

(2) POPULAR SOCIALIT PARTY (PSP)- A SECOND LESS IMPORTANT SOCIALIST PARTY AND OFF-SHOOT AND RIVAL OF PSOE IS THE PSP OF ENRIQUE TIERNO GALVAN. PSP HAS SOME FOLLOWING IN ACADEMIC AND INTELLECTURAL SPHERES BUT LITTLE ELSEWHERE AND HAS NO INTERNATIONAL STANDING. IN JULY OF 1974, TIERNO GALVAN MADE AN ABRUPT SWITCH FROM HIS PREVIOUSLY ANTI-COMMUNIST POSTURE AND JOINED THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED JUNTA DEMOCRATICA COALITION THUS BECOMING PRINCIPAL NON-COMMUNIST POLITICAL PARTY IN JUNTA.

(3) SPANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC UNION (USDE) IS A RELATIVELY NEW MODERATE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION GROUP HEADED BY INTELLECTURAL AND AUTHOR DIONISIO RIDRUEJO, WHOSE ILL HEALTH REDUCES HIS ACTIVITIES. IT HAS ONLY A SMALL FOLLOWING, LARGELY LIMITED TO INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC CIRCLES.

#### 10. THE COMMUNISTS:

SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE) WAS REESTABLISHED IN EXILE AFTER CIVIL WAR AND HAS BEEN STEADILY INCREASING ITS FOLLOWING IN SPAIN DURING LAST DECADE. IT NOW CONSTITUTES MOST IMPORTANT FORCE AMONG CLANDESTINE LABOR MOVEMENTS THROUGH ITS INFLUENCE IN WORKERS COMMISSIONS. PCE HAS SCATTERED POCKETS OF SUPPORT IN UNIVERSITIES, INTELLIGENTSIA AND IS APPARENTLY STRONG IN MEDIA. IN ORGANIZATIONAL TERMS, IF NOT IN NUMBERS, PCE IS PROBABLY STRONGEST ELEMENT OF ILLEGAL OPPOSITION. FOR YEARS IT HAS BEEN HEADED BY SANTIAGO CARRILLO FROM HEADQUARTERS IN PARIS. PCE WAS ONE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES THAT STRONGLY CRITICIZED 1968 INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND HAS SINCE MAINTAINED SOMEWHAT INDEPENDENT PARTY LINE. PCE-MANIPULATED JUNTA DEMOCRATICA COALITION WAS FOUNDED IN 1974 LARGELY UPON INITIATIVE OF CARRILLO AS UMBRELLA COALITION OF OPPOSITION GROUPS, ALTHOUGH IT HAS BEEN LARGELY UNSUCCESSFUL IN ATTRACTING PSOE AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION. THERE ARE ALSO MANY SMALL REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS TO THE LEFT OF THE PCE, LARGELY OF MAOIST, TROTSKYITE, AND ANARCHIST PERSUASIONS.

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#### 11. THE ARMY:

OFFICER CORPS AS INSTITUTION PROFESSES PRO FORMA ALLEGIANCE TO PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT, BUT WITH EXCEPTION OF SOME AGING CIVIL WAR VETERAL GENERALS, MOST MILITARY CAREERISTS SHARE MIDDLE CLASS APOLITICAL OUTLOOK VAGUE INTEREST IN CHANGE AND LACK OF STRONG IDENTIFICATION WITH

FRANCOIST IDEOLOGY. INCREASINGLY THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT GENERATION OF OFFICERS WHO WILL BE RUNNING ARMED FORCES OVER NEXT TEN YEARS TAKE PRAGMATIC VIEW OF POLITICS AND FAVOR MODERATE POLITICAL EVOLUTION TOWARD WESTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC MODEL, INCLUDING LEGALIZATION OF PARTIES. ARMY, HOWEVER, WOULD OPPOSE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL FORCES CLEARLY COMMITTED TO COMMUNIST OR REGIONAL SEPARATISM AND WOULD INTERVENE IN POLITICAL PROCESS IF THEY SAY IT LEADING TO BREAK-DOWN OF PUBLIC ORDER. THERE IS NO HARD CURRENT EVIDENCE OF AN "ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT" FOR RADICAL REFORM.

12. IN A SUBSEQUENT MESSAGE I SHALL MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO WHAT WE MIGHT USEFULLY TO TO ENCOURAGE THOSE POLITICAL TRENDS WHICH WOULD SEEM BEST SUITED TO ADVANCE US INTERESTS. STABLER

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